[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

101 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

644 [illegible]

[illegible]

776 [illegible]

113 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

7. [illegible]
6. [illegible]
5. [illegible]
4. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
1. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]

---

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

First descending generation

The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and morality, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother bring their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

The part played by clansmen in education is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of those with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no clansmen immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At [illegible] there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried clansmen; and at [illegible] a widow with two small children could turn to her adult clansmen for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with clansmen than with relatives. This differs from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom clansmen are [illegible] less important than relatives in these matters.

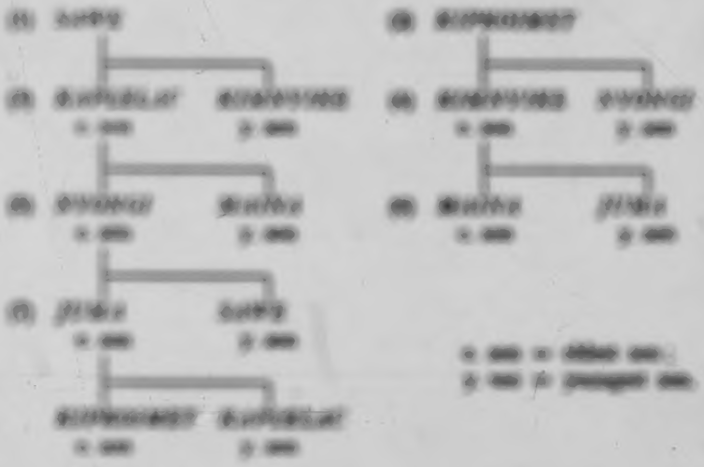
3. The age-set system

In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon. Without attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no tribal solidarity. Theoretical rules of kinship [illegible] but if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully governed and properly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

Age-sets, ipinda, plur. ipinwek, are a Nandian institution adopted by the Tatoga and Masai, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or family are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Nandi boy passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and is thus [illegible] irrespective of his age in years. Women, moreover, do not form age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

The Dorobo have borrowed this system from the Nandi, and have taken over both the Nandi names for the sets and the interval between them, which is fifteen years. There are seven sets which result in a recurring cycle of about 105 years, the names being permanent. Starting with the senior age-set, the order of names in 1950 was: *Kipkoimet, Kaplelach, Kimnyike, Nyongi, Maina, Juma, Sawe*.

The general rule is that a man belongs from birth to the set next but one below that of his father, so that the son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelach*. This applies normally to elder sons. If a man has several sons, or if there is a long interval between the birth of the eldest and the birth of the youngest, the latter normally belongs to the set next but two below that of the father, so that while the eldest son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelach*, the youngest will probably be *Kimnyike*, and thus of a set junior to that of his eldest brother. This is an important point, as it affects the whole system of behaviour. The following diagram illustrates descent by age-sets:

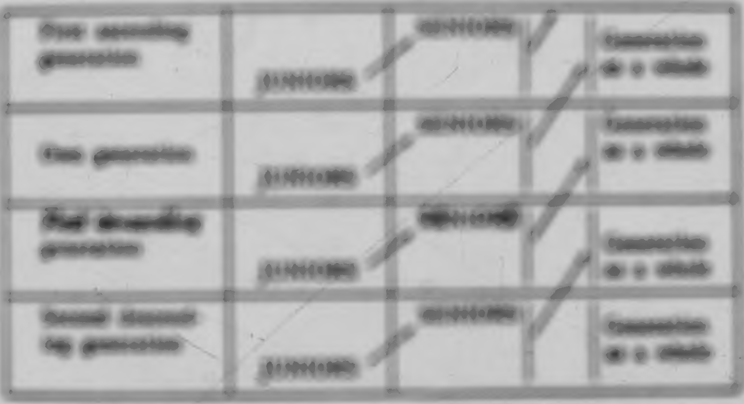


e. son = eldest son.
y. son = youngest son.

Age-sets work in the following way: the men who comprise the present *Maina* set began their circumcision period in [illegible], and were circumcised at intervals during the next seven years, after which, in [illegible], they became the active and responsible members of Dorobo society, and their predecessors the *Nyongi* retired from public life. At this time, in [illegible], the next batch of youths, the *Juma*, moved up into the position occupied by the *Maina* from [illegible] to [illegible] in order to be circumcised, becoming initiates while the *Maina* became officially 'men'. So every fifteen years or so the whole machine moves like a ratchet wheel turning one cog, and every set goes through the following periods:

[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. [illegible] on the northern edge of the forest.
2. [illegible] the SW corner of the forest.
3. [illegible] south of [illegible].
4. [illegible] from [illegible] to the SW corner of the forest.
5. [illegible] east of [illegible].
6. [illegible] between the forest and the [illegible] river.
7. [illegible] east of [illegible].
8. [illegible] east of [illegible].
9. [illegible] east of [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

---

[1] [illegible]

/28 cont'd/ 611
Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is 591
practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including an- 595
cestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by 613
the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts 769
of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually [775]
successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to
say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or
great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital 881
rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male 561
initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the [777]
Dorobo imitated or joined in the itwika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto
of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is
[illegible]. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as
mut ap-tai (the right hand) and met ap-katap (the left hand). When
the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the
latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai
right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature 622
being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kirwogindet (pl. 629
kirwogik). A kirwogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu [171]
muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed 648
allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognise one Supreme Being, called Tororit (compare 776
the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun 771
Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tororit, are, for rain 778
the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in
connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the [881]
[illegible].

"3. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo 101
of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo [628]
Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and re-
marked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and [166]
went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time
the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the

[P.184, B]

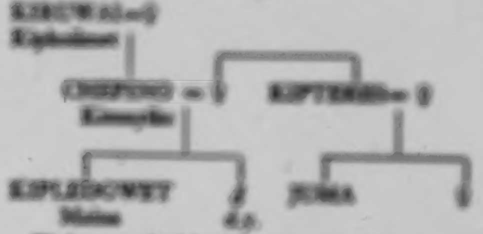
The social structure of the Dorobo is based on 614
clan-solidarity, the clans being patrilineal, partially
patrilocal, and exogamous. The clan-names, as [591
well as the age-set names, and many of the 601
relationship terms, are of Nandi origin; but 177]
here the resemblance ends, and it is seen that the
social structure is unlike that of the Nandi. The
whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact,
dissimilar. There is no doubt that living in and 152
in close contact with a forest produces a consider- 139
able effect on people, which differentiates them
from those who live in open country; and the
influence of the forest is felt particularly by the
children. Peculiar factors of forest life, which
obviously cannot occur in open country, are:

1. The homestead is set in a small clearing [361]
just large enough to hold two or three huts.

2. The continual presence of large trees,
inescapable when the children are young.

and education of children may be grouped according to the amount of influence they exert; and as primary authorities are to be included: F., M., F.Br., F.Br.W., F.F., F.M.; as secondary authorities, M.Br., M.Br.W., F.Sis., F.Sis.H., M.Sis., M.Sis.H., and kilamatik (relatives) in the persons of clansmen living in the group. The M.Br. does not occupy the same place with regard to a child that he does in Nandi. He does not live in the same group, whereas the F.Br. frequently does, and so the F.Br. has the greater influence on the child. Many Dorobo, in fact, have had little or nothing to do with their M.Br., and some do not even know their names. In the following Kidjori genealogy, [592] [594] 626

[601]



Kipkegyet had hardly ever seen Kipterer, and could not even remember his name, till another person told him. Juma similarly did not know the name of his M.Br.

The relationship system of the Dorobo thus differs from the Nandi, especially in the following: 602

(1) Children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are classed as *MACHOMEDA*.

(2) Children of M.Sis. are classed with Br. and Sis. as *KESENDA*.

(3) Children of ego and his Br. are classed as *MPAA*.

(4) Children of M.Br. and ego's Sis. are classed as *MAMA*.

(5) Children in the 2nd descending generation are *AGWI*.

(6) The F.Sr. takes the place of M.Br.

B. Age-sets and behaviour patterns. 561

The Dorobo have seven age-sets, ipinda, pl. ipinwagik, with three age-grades in each set. These sets are borrowed from the Nandi, and have the same 15-year intervals, and the same three sub-divisions. [771]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The age-grades through which a person passes in turn are:

♂	♀
[illegible]: uncircumcised boys.	[illegible]: girls.
[illegible]: circumcised men.	[illegible]: married women.
[illegible]: elders.	[illegible]: old women.

Boys are [illegible] till circumcised, when they become [illegible] for the 15-year period of their age-set and then [illegible] when the change over occurs.* The sub-divisions, [illegible], of the Dorobo age-sets (each set has the same three sub-divisions) are called:

Senior: [illegible]

Middle: [illegible] or [illegible]

Junior: [illegible] or [illegible]

A son belongs normally to the age-set but one below that of his father, i.e.:

Age-set:	Eldest son usually belongs to:	Younger sons may belong to:
Kipkoimet	*Kimnyike*	*Nyongi*
Kaplelach	*Nyongi*	*Maina*
Kimnyike	*Maina*	*Chumo*
Nyongi	*Chumo*	*Sawe*
Maina	*Sawe*	*Kipkoimet*
Chumo	*Kipkoimet*	*Kaplelach*
Sawe	*Kaplelach*	*Kimnyike*

It may happen, as in Nandi, that a son will be classed with an age-set but two below that of his father (as in the last column above), because he was born so long after his father's marriage that he would be too young to be circumcised with the age he would normally belong to.

With these terminological features, the resemblance of the Dorobo age-sets to the Nandi ends. They have no military functions at all, and their sole significance is behaviouristic. As an element in social structure the age-sets cut across the formal kinship patterns, and behaviour is not wholly reflected in the kinship system; when the two elements clash, the age-set pattern prevails. In a short summary it is not possible to go into details, but the following genealogy will illustrate it sufficiently:

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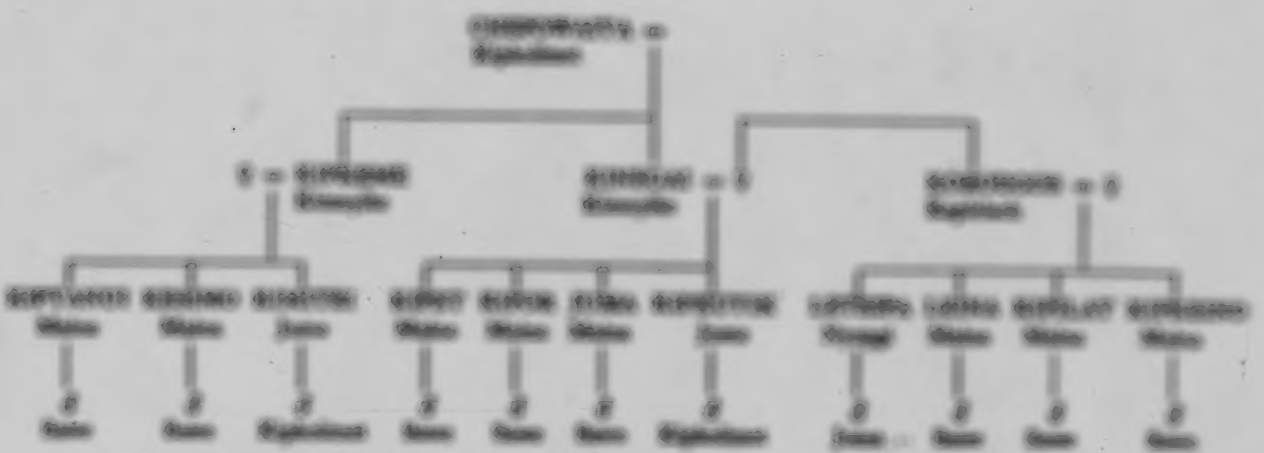
* See J.R.A.I. [illegible], for further details of the Nandi age-sets.



(The bottom line shows the age-sets to which the sons of the last line would normally belong.)

[P 192, 8]

Although by relationship all these brothers are theoretically equals, as being brothers, yet by reason of their age-grouping different age-sets are found in all these families, with the result that [illegible] and [illegible] are socially inferior to their brothers [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible]; while [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible] are all inferior to [illegible]. So long as they were small this did not matter, but when they reached puberty, the inferiority of their status became noticeable in such things as exclusion from all sexual matters, and is reflected in the general idea that "He must go, he is only a child, and he must not expect to do the grown-up things that we are allowed to do." The same will apply to the next generation. 58/ 603. [9.2]

The general principles of [illegible] behaviour may be summarized thus (from the standpoint of "ego"):- 605.

To the 1st and 2nd ascending generations: awe and respect.

To the 1st ascending generation: respect, obedience (and care when old). Easy and familiar intercourse, but no loose talk or bad language.

To his own generation: considerable latitude is allowed between members of the same generation: obscene talk and jests, discussion of sexual matters and so forth are tolerated, though of course such talk must not become open. The idea of mutual help and support, which is accorded by all to their parents and grandparents (when these are still alive) is more emphasized in the interrelations of those of the same generation.

To the 1st descending generation: all members of this are treated much as ego treats his own children (and this applies more or less to the 2nd descending generation). In this category are also included those members of one's own generation, e.g. younger brothers, who belong to a junior age-set.

To affinals: wife's mother must be avoided, both indoors and out, and must not be spoken to; if met on a road, a man must get off the road out of her sight. The wife's father need not be avoided, and 606

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Gaining the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

[illegible] The marital relations are often little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest childhood seems to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the [illegible] betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

[illegible] Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and their fellow companions confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the [illegible], in which friends and neighbours participate. They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

[illegible] Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five [illegible], and, soon after her circumcision, half of a dead female elephant with the tusk that belongs to its [illegible], two head of cattle, which

[Text cont.]

[illegible] after the eldest living child. Among the Asa [illegible] both the [illegible] the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

[Text] VII.

Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys ([illegible], [illegible]) form an age class ([illegible]), which receives the same name as that of the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys are called [illegible] (sing. [illegible]), corresponding to the el [illegible] of the Masai. When the latter become el [illegible], the former correspondingly become [illegible] (sing. [illegible]), and later, with their marriage, [illegible] (sing. [illegible]), corresponding to the el [illegible] of the Masai. The [illegible] dress exactly like the el [illegible] and, like them, they go out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (el [illegible]) of the Masai gets a new name, that of the Asa adopts it also. They cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life renders them unnecessary. The reason the Wandorobo have no names of their own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation -- that the ol [illegible], whom the Asa also call [illegible], does not give them any and would regard it as extremely [illegible] if these poor, despised people came to him with such a request. The [illegible] also choose their head -- the ol [illegible] of the Masai -- who here is called [illegible] or [illegible] or also [illegible]. As among the Masai, this is an honorary position without duties, but also without any privileges either. Also the [illegible] [illegible], whose task is chiefly to settle disputes, corresponds to the ol [illegible] of the Masai. The [illegible] corresponds to the ol [illegible] of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandorobo in pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

1. [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Merker, also chief of the Asa--[illegible]]

[illegible]

[illegible]
elephants, buffalo, and lions, [illegible] courage and [illegible] and [illegible] again and again [illegible].

About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, [illegible], a few days before the operation they set out for the [illegible] in the [illegible] of their [illegible] friends. [illegible] they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the [illegible] also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

[illegible] [illegible]

Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- [illegible]. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Snares. -- [illegible] hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstitions. -- [illegible].

For the [illegible] of the Wandorobo hunting is what war is for the [illegible] of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow. The two-sided bow (Fig. [illegible]) [illegible] has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.40 meters long and very slightly flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver (Fig. [illegible]) [illegible] with arrows (Fig. [illegible]) [illegible]. The wooden arrow shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering [illegible]. The iron points, which the Wandorobo usually buy from [illegible] and Masai blacksmiths, but also from [illegible] Negroes, and more

[illegible]

1. [For a description of these ornaments, see [illegible] File, [illegible], category 301--[illegible]]